

Baconiana.

VOL. VI.—*New Series.*

OCTOBER, 1899.

No. 28.

III.—THE CHRONICLE PLAYS.

(Continued from page 130.)

IN Bacon's collection of Apophthegms, published in his *Resuscitatio*, the twenty-second is as follows:—

"The book of *Deposing King Richard* the Second, and the coming in of *Henry the Fourth*, supposed to be written, by Doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her counsel learned, whether there were any treason contained in it? Who intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the Queen's bitterness, with a merry conceit answered, '*No, Madame, for treason I cannot deliver opinion, that there is any, but very much felony.*' The Queen apprehending it gladly, asked, '*How? And wherein?*' Mr. Bacon answered, '*Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits, out of Cornelius Tacitus*'" (Page 296, *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

In Bacon's Essay upon *Praise*, we find him writing:—"Praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man. If he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most. But if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself, that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *Spreta conscientia*. Some praises come of good wishes, and respects, which is a form due in civility to Kings, and great persons, *Laudando præcipere* (to teach in praising); when by telling men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them—'*Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*' (The worst kind of enemies are flatterers, or eulogists.)"—*Tacitus Agricola*, 41).

It is our object to call attention to this last sentence, and quotation made by Bacon, from *Cornelius Tacitus*, and to inquire whether *this is not one of the sentences, or conceits, which we may re-find as a text, upon which the character of King Richard the Second, has been drawn in the Play of his name, attributed to Shakespeare?*

The ruin of Richard the Second, is mainly attributed, in the Play, to his *fondness for praise, or flattery*. We find the Duke of York, telling John of Gaunt, how vain, his good counsel will be in the ears of the King :—

Gaunt.—Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear,
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.

York.—No; it is stopp'd with other flattering sounds,
As praises,* of whose taste the wise are fond.—Act II. i.

And Gaunt exclaims to the King :—

And thou, too careless patient as thou art,
Committ'st thy anointed body to the cure
Of those physicians that first wounded thee:
A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown,
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head.—Act II. i. 99.

The character of Richard the Second is described, as a mixture, of lightness, vanity, and weakness for praise, or flattery, and to this was added a morbid inclination to self analysis, and self-torture. The Earl of Northumberland echoes the same note as Gaunt, when he replies to Ross :—

The King is not himself, *but basely led*
By flatterers; † and what they will inform
Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,
That will the King severely prosecute
'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our heirs.

—Act II. i. 241.

When the Duke of York hears of the invasion of England by Bolingbroke, he exclaims of the King :—

* *Proteus.*—I will not flatter her.

Val.—O flatter me; for love delights in praise.

—*Two Gent.*, Act II. iv. 147.

† These flatterers of the King were Bushy, Bagot, and Green, whose rise was one of the direct causes of King Richard's overthrow. When they hear of the approach and landing of Bolingbroke, and the flight of Northumberland, Percy, and Ross to the invader's assistance, Bushy and Bagot endeavour to allay the Queen's despair with flattering hopes. She replies :—

I will despair, and be at enmity
With cozening hope: he is a flatterer,
A parasite, a keeper back of death,
Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,
Which false hopes lingers in extremity.

—*K. Rich. II.*, Act II. ii. 68.

Now comes the sick hour that his surfeit made ;
 Now shall he try, his friends that flatter'd him.

—*K. Rich. II.*, Act II. ii. 84.

This sermon upon the dangers of too much praise, or flattery, is writ large in Bacon's prose, and in his poetry likewise. For example, Bacon, amid the collection of Solomon's Proverbs, which he has thought fit to comment upon, and introduce, into his *Advancement of Learning*, has chosen the one that runs, "*He who rises early, praising his friend, shall find it no better than a curse to him.*" That is to say, immoderate praise possesses two dangers—it fosters self-ignorance and vanity in the person flattered, and it raises envy in others, which may bring the curse home to him. Timon of Athens is a complete sermon upon this text :—

Alcib.—I never did thee harm.

Timon.—Yes, thou spokest well of me.

Alcib.—Call'st thou that harm ?

Timon.—Men daily find it.—*Timon*, Act IV. iii.

Bacon observes : "*He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap*" (*Essays, Ceremonies and Respects*).

King Henry the Fourth, in describing the character of King Richard the Second, dwells particularly upon this point, how the King made himself too cheap :—

Grew a companion to the common streets,
 Enfeoff'd himself to popularity ;
 That, being daily swallowed by men's eyes,
 They surfeited with honey, and began
 To loathe the taste of sweetness, whereof a little
 More than a little is by much too much.

—1 *K. Hen. IV.*, Act III. ii. 68.

The twenty-third apophthegm, of Bacon's collection, printed in his *Resuscitatio*, and following upon the heels of the one already quoted, is as follows :—"Queen Elizabeth, being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put in some doubt of that person, whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon ; and told him *she was like one, with a lantern, seeking a man* ; and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of a man for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her : '*That he had heard that in old time, there was usually painted, in the Church walls, the Day of Doom, and God sitting in Judgment, and Saint Michael by Him, with a pair of balances ; and the Soul, and the good deeds, in the one balance ; and the faults, and the evil deeds in the other ; and the souls balance went up far too light. Then was our Lady painted with*

a great pair of beads ; who cast them into the light balance, and brought down the scale.' So he said, place and authority, which were in her Majesty's hand to give, were like our Lady's beads which though men, through any imperfections, were too light before, yet when they were cast in, made weight competent" (Twenty-third Apophthegm, Page 296, *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

This apophthegm finds a striking reflection in the Play we are discussing, when the gardener, dwells upon the *lightness and vanity*, of King Richard the Second's character :—

King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
Of Bolingbroke : their fortunes both are weigh'd,
In your lord's scale, is nothing but himself,
And some few vanities that make him light ;
But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,
Besides himself are all the English peers,
And with that odds he weighs King Richard down.

—K. Rich. II., Act III. iv. 83.

It may be observed that this metaphor, is evidently borrowed from the Psalms :—"Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie—to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity" (Psalm lxii. ver. 9).

Richard the Second had been weighed in the balance, against Bolingbroke, and found wanting. This deficiency of weight in the King's character, is attributed to his vanity, which early in the Play is alluded to thus :—

Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity—
So be it new, there's no respect how vile—
That is not quickly buzzed into his ears ?
Then all too late comes counsel to be heard.—Act II. i.

Bacon writes in his Essay upon *Counsel* : "The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon Counsel" [*Consilio virorum selectorum*—Counsel of chosen men] (*Essays*, 1625).

If the reader will turn to the second Act of Richard the Second, John of Gaunt, who is dying, is presented, earnestly endeavouring to instil "*wholesome counsel*" into the deaf ears of the wilful King :—

Gaunt.—Will the King come, that I may breathe my last
In wholesome counsel to his unstaidd youth ?
York.—Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath ;
For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.—Act II. i.

Bacon says, "*Optimi consilarii mortui*—the best counsel-

lors are the dead" (*Counsel*, 1625), and it is certainly in this sense, that John of Gaunt alludes to his own dying counsel:—

O, but they say the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention like deep harmony.
Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain,
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain.
He that no more must say is listen'd more
Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glose;
More are men's ends mark'd than their lives before.
The setting sun and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past
Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear,
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.—Act II. i.

In the fifth scene, of the second act, of the first part, of *King Henry VI.*, Edmund Mortimer is introduced, giving *his dying counsel*, to his nephew Richard Plantagenet, who was afterwards Duke of York.

Mortimer.—With *silence*,* nephew be thou politic:
Strong fixed is the house of Lancaster
And like a mountain not to be removed.

And so farewell, and fair be all thy hopes
And prosperous be thy life in peace and war! [*Dies.*]

Plantagenet.—Well, I will lock his *counsel* in my breast;
And what I do imagine let that rest.

—1 *K. Henry VI.*, Act II. v. 101.

In like manner the dying King Henry the Fourth gives *counsel* to his son Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry the Fifth.

King.—Come hither, Harry, sit thou by my bed;
And hear, I think, the very latest counsel
That ever I shall breathe.

—2 *K. Henry IV.*, Act IV. v. 182.

In a letter to the Earl of Essex, Bacon writes: "I pray God her Majesties *weighing* be not like the weight of a balance, *Gravia deorsum, levia sursum*" (*Letters. Resuscitatio*, p. III: 1661).

This weighing of character against character, as presented in the comparison of Richard the Second, with Bolingbroke, of *lightness with weight*, is thus introduced by Octavius Cæsar:—

*Of *silence* Bacon writes, "Silence like night is fit for treacheries" *Loquacity. Antitheta xxxi.*).

Yet must Antony
No way excuse his soils *when we do bear*
So great weight in his lightness.

—*Ant. Cl.*, Act I. iv. 23.

In Bacon's collection of *Antitheta*, under the heading of *Nobility*, we find this:—"The industry of *new rising men* is oftentimes such, as *Nobles* compared with them are but *Statues*" (Liber VI., p. 300, *Advt. of Learning*).

There can be very little doubt this was penned as a point for Cardinal Wolsey, who was a *newly-risen man*, in direct rivalry with the nobility, as we find at the opening of *King Henry VIII.*, where the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Abergavenny complain of the Cardinals' ambitious fingers. When Wolsey is charged by the King, with imposing exactions and taxations upon the people, he replies that he is "traduced by ignorant tongues," "malicious censurers," and "sick interpreters," who are his enemies, and whom he indicates as "*State statues only*," with an evident stab at the nobility.

If we shall stand still,
In fear our *motion* will be mock'd, or carp'd at,
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State statues only.—*K. Henry VIII.*, Act I. ii. 85.

Wolsey's expression—"motion," is but another word, for what Bacon calls, "*the industry of new rising men!*" In Bacon's Essay of *Nobility*, he writes:—"Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry: and he that is not industrious, *envieth him that is*. Besides noble persons cannot go much higher. And he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid *motions of envy*" (*Nobility. Essays*, 1612).

This envy of the Nobility against Cardinal Wolsey is the main theme of the first scene, of the first act of the play:—

Buckingham.—The devil speed him! No man's pie is freed
From his ambitious finger.* What had he
To do in these fierce vanities? I wonder
That such a keech can with his very bulk
Take up the rays of the beneficial sun
And keep it from the earth.

Norfolk.—Surely, sir,
There's in him stuff that puts him to these ends;
† *For, being not propp'd by ancestry, whose grace*

* Bacon: "Envy is as the *sunbeams*, that *heat more upon a rising ground*, than upon a level. — *Nobility: Essay*, 1612.

† Bacon observes: "Men of *noble birth* are noted to be *envious towards new men when they rise*. For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back."—*Essays, Envy*.

*Chalks successors their way, nor call'd upon
For high feats done to the crown; neither allied
To eminent assistants; but spider-like,
Out of his self-drawing web, he gives us note,
The force of his own merit makes his way;
A gift that Heaven gives for him, which buys
A place next to the King.*

Abergavenny.—I cannot tell

What Heaven hath given him—let some graver eye
Pierce into that; but I can see his pride
Peep through each part of him. Whence has he that?
If not from hell? The devil is a niggard,
Or has given all before, and he begins
A new hell in himself.

—*K. Henry VIII.*, Act I. i.

The comparison of Nobility to Statues is a very happy image, and implies, a little irony, which may, or may not be allied to the Latin:—*Statuæ erectæ stultitiæ*.

In Bacon's Essay of *Great Place*, he observes, "*Merit is the end of man's motion*," which illustrates the point, that the word *motion* is employed by him to signify advancement. Again: "For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue. And as in nature, *things move violently to their place*, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority, settled and calm" (*Essay, Great Place*, 1625).

Bacon writes: "Certainly men in great fortunes *are strangers to themselves*, and while they are in the push of business, they have no time to tend their health either of body, or mind, *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi*, i.e., Death lies heavily on the man who is too well known to all, dies a stranger to himself" (*Seneca, Thyestes*, Act II., Chorus. *Great Place, Essays*, 1625).

After his fall, Cardinal Wolsey exclaims in answer to Cromwell:—

Cromwell.—How does your Grace?

Wolsey.—Why, well;

Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.

I know myself now; * and I feel within me

A peace above all earthly dignities,

A still and quiet conscience. The King has cured me,

* Bacon writes: "After the knowledge of others follows *the knowledge of ourselves*, for no less diligence, rather more is to be taken in a true and exact understanding of our own persons; than of the persons of others; for the oracle *NOSCE TEIPSUM* is not only a rule of universal prudence, but a special place in politics, for as St. James excellently puts us in mind, *that he that views his face in a glass, yet instantly forgets what a one he was*; so that there is need of a very frequent inspection."—*Liber VIII.*, p. 407, *Advancement of Learning* (1640).

I humbly thank his grace ; and from these shoulders,
 These ruin'd pillars, out of pity, taken
 A load would sink a navy, too much honour
 O 'tis a burden.—Act III. ii. 374.

So likewise Mark Antony exclaims :—

And then when poisoned hours had bound me up
 From mine own knowledge.

—*Ant. Cl.*, Act II. ii. 90.

We find the Duke of Norfolk exclaiming of Cardinal Wolsey :—

Norfolk.—The King will know him one day.

Suffolk.—Pray God he do ! He'll never know himself else.

—*K. Henry VIII.*, Act II. ii.

Thales, the Milesian, is said to have been the first author of the precept—*γνῶθι σεαυτον*—"Know thyself." He is supposed to have said, that, "*for a man to know himself, is the hardest thing in the world*" (see Stanley's *Life of Thales*). It was one of those three precepts which Pliny affirms to have been consecrated at Delphos in golden letters. It was so frequently quoted, that at length it acquired the authority of a divine oracle, and was supposed to have been given originally by Apollo himself. Cicero remarks upon this point:—"*Hæc enim (i.e. Philosophia) nos cum cæteras res omnes tum quod est difficilimum docuit; ut [nosmet ipsos] nosceremus, Cujus præcepti tanta vis, tanta sententia est, ut ea non Homini cuiquam, sed Delphico Deo tribueretur*" (*Cicero de Legib.*, lib. i.).

This opinion of its coming originally from Apollo himself, was probably the reason that it was written in golden capitals over the door of his temple at Delphos: "*Quod præceptum quia majus erat quam ut ab Homini videretur, idcirco assignatum est Deo: Jubet igitur nos Pythius Apollo noscere [nosmet ipsos]*" (*Idem de Finibus*, lib. v., cap. xvi.).

"Self-knowledge is that acquaintance with ourselves, which shows us what we are, and do, and ought to be, in order to our living comfortably and usefully here and happily hereafter. The means of it is self-examination; the end of it is self-government and self-fruition. It principally consists in the knowledge of our souls; which is attained by a particular attention to their various powers, capacities, passions, inclinations, operations, state, happiness, and temper. *For a man's soul is properly himself.* The body is but the house; the soul is the tenant that inhabits it: the body is the instrument; the soul the artist that directs it. Cicero observes, "*Præceptum Apollinis, quo monet ut se quisque noscat, non enim, credo, id*

præcipit, ut membra nostra aut staturam, figuram noscamus: neque nos corpora sumus: neque ego, tibi dicens hoc, corpori tuo dico: cum igitur NOSCE TE dicit, hoc dicit, *Nosce animum tuum*. Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est, aut aliquod animi receptaculum; ab animo tuo quicquid agitur, id agitur a te." (*Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst.*, lib. i.). See 2 Cor. v. 1; Rom. vi. 13: ἡ δύναμις ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ ὄργανον σώματος. (Mason on *Self-Knowledge*, page 10.)

It is very certain that *self-knowledge* is impossible to the unregenerated, or for those living in sin. Because just as when within a wood, "*we cannot see the wood for the trees,*" so one condition of mind, can only be surveyed by means of another condition, in the same way, as we can only contemplate a city, or village as a whole, by climbing a height, *giving us an advantage above it.* Antony exclaims:—

Antony.—But when we in our viciousness grow hard—
O misery on't! The wise gods seel our eyes; *
In our own filth drop our clear judgments;
 Make us
Adore our errors; laugh-at's, while we strut
To our confusion.—*Ant. Cl., Act III. xiii.*

Cassius asks Brutus, whether he can see, or understand himself?

Cassius.—Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your face?

Brutus.—No, Cassius, for the eye sees not itself
But by reflection, *by some other things.*

Cassius.—'Tis just

And it is very much lamented Brutus
That you have no such *mirrors* as will turn
Your *hidden worthiness* into your eye.

—*Julius Cæsar*, I. ii.

Bacon's thirty-fourth parable (concerning dispersed occasions), has for its text (borrowed from the Proverbs of Solomon), this:—"As faces shine in waters, so men's hearts are manifest to the wise." Bacon's explication:—"The parable distinguisheth between the hearts of wise men and of other men; comparing those to waters or glasses, which receive and represent the forms and images of things; whereas the other are like to earth, or rude stone, wherein nothing is reflected. And the more aptly is the mind of a wise man compared to a glass or mirror, because in a glass his own image may be seen, together with the images of others, which the eyes cannot do of themselves without a glass. Now if the mind of a wise man be so capable, as to observe and comprehend, such

* Seneca observes : " It is a good argument of a reformed mind, that it sees those vices in itself, which it was before ignorant of " (Epistle VI.).

an infinite diversity of natures and customs, it remains to be endeavoured, that it may become no less various in the application, than it is in the representation."

Qui sapit, in numeris Moribus aptus erit.

—*Liber. VIII. p. 397, Advancement of Learning, 1640.*

In Bacon's Essay upon "*Praise*," he writes, "Praise is the reflection of virtue. *But it is as the glass or body, which giveth the reflection.*" Now, *praise is another name for flattery.* Bacon tells us:—"There be so many false points of *praise*, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. *Some praises proceed merely of flattery*; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man. If he be a cunning man, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most" (*Praise*, 1625).

Now all this is very perfectly illustrated in the following soliloquy delivered by King Richard the Second, in which the King takes up a looking-glass, or mirror, and exclaims, whilst contemplating himself:—

O, flattering glass,
Like to my followers in prosperity;
Thou dost beguile me. Was this face the face?
That every day under his household roof,
Did keep ten thousand men? Was this the face?
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
Was this the face, that faced so many follies,
And was at last outfaced by Bolingbroke?
A brittle glory shineth in this face;
As brittle as the glory is the face.

[*Dashes the glass against the ground.*]

—*K. Richard II., Act IV. i.*

In this passage, Bacon's text upon praise or flattery is clearly reflected, viz., that the praise, or flattery, of his followers in prosperity, *had broken and undone the King, in the same way the glass was broken and shattered upon the ground!* And there is little doubt, that in this episode, we have a silent, but eloquent commentary, upon the vanity of beauty, and of worldly fortune, reflected in this sonnet from the *Passionate Pilgrim*:—

Beauty is but a vain and doubtful good,
A shining glass that fadeth suddenly;
A flower that dies when first it gives to bud,
A brittle glass that's broken presently;
A doubtful good, a gloss, a glass a flower,
Lost, faded, broken, dead, within an hour.

—*Passionate Pilgrim Sonnet, XIII.*

A Latin proverb says that, "*Fortune is like glass, soon broken*," and Bacon intends to point the moral, that flattery is like a looking-glass full of beguilement, and as brittle. King Richard the Second, had arrived at self knowledge, but too late—he *had lived for the shadow, and not for the substance, and the shadow destroyed him!*

Bolingbroke.—The shadow of your sorrow hath destroy'd
The shadow of your face.

K. Richard.—Say that again,
The shadow of my sorrow! ha! let's see;
'Tis very true, my grief lies all within,
And these external manners of laments;
Are merely shadows* to the unseen grief,
That swells with silence in the tortur'd soul;
There lies the substance.—*K. Richard II.*, Act IV. i. 292.

But there is something more to be said. When Bacon says of praise, or flattery, that it is, "*the glass or body that giveth the reflection*," he is ironically pointing at those passions which belong to the body, and which reflect the earthly, or worldly life, and the external man, or shadow, rather than the soul, or substance! The substance, Richard the Second tells us, *lies with the soul, but he had not lived for the soul*, only for light vanity, and the flattering praise of his followers, who like the mirror had beguiled him! Bacon writes, "It is a strange thing to behold, what gross errors, and extreme absurdities, many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend, to tell them of them, to the great damage, both of their fame of fortune. For, as St. James saith, *they are as men, that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*" (*Friendship, Essay*, 1625).

John of Gaunt gave Richard the Second, good counsel, but he would not hearken to it, on account of his vanity, and his flatterers. Bacon says:—"So as, there is as much difference, between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer" (*Friendship*, 1625). Thus in *Timon of Athens*, we find the Poet speaking of "*the glass-faced flatterer*" (Act I. i. 58).

"Praise proceeds more out of a bravery than out of merit, and happens rather to vain and windy persons, than to persons substantial and solid" (*Praise, Reputation, Antitheta IX.*, p. 304, *Liber. VI.*, *Advancement of Learning*, 1640).

* The glories of our blood and state,
Are shadows, not substantial things.

In the play of *King Henry the Eighth* we find the Duke of Buckingham, speaking of Wolsey :—

Buck.—But this top proud fellow,
Who from the flow of gall, I name not, but
From sincere motions, by intelligence,
And proofs as clear as founts in July when
We see each grain of gravel, I do know,
To be corrupt and treasonous.

Norfolk.—Say not treasonous.

Buck.—To the King, I'll say't, and make my vouch as strong,
As shore of rock. Attend. This holy fox,*
Or wolf, or both, for he is equal ravenous,
As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief;
As able to perform it—*K. Henry VIII.*, Act I. i. 151.

Bacon taking the Parables of Solomon, as texts, quotes :—
“A just man falling before the wicked *is a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring*. The Parable gives it in precept, that States and Republics must above all things *beware of an unjust and infamous sentence*, in any cause of grave importance, and exemplar in the face of the world; *specially where the guilty is not quitted, but the innocent is condemned*. For injuries ravaging among private persons do indeed trouble, and pollute the waters of justice, yet as in the smaller streams, *but unjust judgments* such as we have spoken of, from which examples are derived, *infect and distain the very Fountains of Justice*. For when the courts of justice side with injustice, the state of things is turned into a public robbery, and it manifestly comes to pass, *ut Homo homini sit lupus*” (*Liber VIII.*, *Advancement of Learning*. *Parables of Solomon*, 34).

Now Buckingham, an innocent man, became a prey to the wolf, Cardinal Wolsey, and he might have said with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester :—

The purest spring is not so free from mud,
As I am clear from treason to my sovereign.
—2 *K. Henry VI.*, Act III. i. 101.

Indeed, Cardinal Wolsey, was one of those who like, the Duke of Suffolk remorselessly hunted down his enemies, and of Suffolk the Captain says :—

Ay, Kennel, puddle, sink, whose filth and dirt,
Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
—2 *K. Henry VI.*, Act IV. i. 71.

Bacon makes use of the expression :—“*Projected to trouble*

* “Wisdom for a man's self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of the fox that thrusts out the lodger who digged and made room for him.”—*Wisdom for a man's self*, *Essay*, 1625.

the waters," said of the King of Spain. (A true report of the Treason of Dr. Lopez, p. 152, *Resuscitatio*, 1661). Again:—"And, therefore, I do wonder, how Mr. I. S. *could foul, or trouble so clear a fountain*."* (A charge against I. S. for scandalizing the benevolence, p. 62, *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

Buckingham is an example, like Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, of a just man falling before the wicked, before the corrupt fountain of an unjust court. But it is in the thirty-fourth parable of Bacon's collection, out of the Wisdom of Solomon, we find a clue to our text, "As faces shine in waters, so men's hearts are manifest to the wise." Again, in his Essay upon *Judicature*, Bacon observes:—"One foul sentence, doth more hurt, than many foul examples. For these do, but corrupt the stream, the other *corrupteth the fountain*, so saith Solomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ sua coram adversario*" (*Judicature, Essays*, 1625).

Bacon writes:—"By the madness and fury of Catiline, and the conspirators, unto which action *he secretly blew the coal*" (Character of *Julius Cæsar*, p. 285, *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

Queen Katharine exclaims to Cardinal Wolsey:—

Katharine.—For it is you,
Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me

Wolsey.—You charge me,
That I have blown this coal.† I do deny it.
K. *Henry VIII.*, Act II. iv. 78.

Bacon observes: "There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governors, which may be held sufficient (*negotii pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from *precipices*" (*Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, 1625).

King Henry the Eighth exclaims to Cranmer:—

King—Go to! Go to!
You take a *precipice* for no leap of danger,
And woo your own destruction.
—K. *Henry VIII.*, Act V. i. 137.

This subject is closely allied to Bacon's Essay upon *Great Place*. *Great Place is lubrica statio, et proxima præcipitis*,

* *Achilles*.—My mind is troubled like a fountain stirred,
And I myself see not the bottom of it.
—*Troilus and Cressida*. Act III. iii.

† What reward shall be given or done thee, thou false tongue?
Even mighty and sharp arrows,
With hot burning coals.—*Psalms* cxx. 3.

that is to say, in Bacon's own words, "The standing is *slippery*, and the regress, is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing" (*Great Place*, 1625).

Cousin of Buckingham, though Humphrey's pride,
And greatness of his place be grief to us.

—2 *K. Henry VI.*, Act I. i.

Bacon writes: "As on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there be, that in their nature, do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity, turneth but to crossness or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness, or the like; *but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part*" (*Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature, Essays*, 1625).

This is excellently pointed at Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, against whom we have just found Henry the Eighth warning Cranmer. It was against the latter that Gardiner cherished the deepest envy and malice. Gardiner replies to Cranmer:—

Gardiner—My lord, my lord, you are a sectary,
That's the plain truth. Your painted gloss discovers,
To men that understand you, words and weakness.

Cromwell—My Lord of Winchester, you are a little,
By your good favour, too sharp; men so noble,
However faulty, yet should find respect
For what they have been: 'tis a cruelty
To load a falling man.—*K. Henry VIII.*, Act V. iii. 70.

This "*natural malignity*" of Gardiner's is everywhere writ large in the Play.

In Bacon's collection of Apophthegms, is the following, touching the Salique Law:—

"There was a French gentleman, speaking with an English of the law Salique, '*That women were excluded, from inheriting the crown of France.*' The English said, '*Yes, but that was meant of the women themselves, not of such males as claimed by women.*' The French gentleman said, '*Where do you find that gloss?*' The English answered, '*I'll tell you, sir; look on the backside of the Record of the Law Salique, there you shall find it indorsed.*' Implying there was no such thing, as the *Law Salique*, but that it is a mere fiction" (Thirty-second Apophthegm, Page 298, *Resuscitatio*, 1671).

Now, directly we turn to the Play of *King Henry the Fifth*, we find the Archbishop of Canterbury, urging the claims of

King Henry the Fifth, to the throne of France, on the same plea, *indorsed by the Record of History* :—

K. Henry—My learned lord, we pray you to proceed,
And justly and religiously unfold
Why the law Salique, that they have in France,
Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim.

—Act I. ii. 9.

Canterbury—There is no bar
To make against your highness' claim to France
But this, which they produce from Pharamond,
“*In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant* :’
No woman shall succeed in Salique land.”
Which Salique land the French *unjustly gloze*
To be the realm of France, and Pharamond,—
The founder of this law and female bar.
Yet their own authors faithfully affirm
That the land Salique is in Germany,
Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe.—Act I. ii. 35.

In fact, the Archbishop of Canterbury proceeds to do *exactly what the Englishman* (in the apophthegm cited above) *tells the Frenchman to do, i.e., to look upon the backside, or Record of the Law Salique—that is, to trace its historical origin, and to point out how the “French unjustly gloze” the Salique land “to be the realm of France,” when originally it was “in Germany called Meisen.”* Note especially how the same expression is used by the Frenchman (in the apophthegm), and by Canterbury in the Play? The Frenchman said, “*Where do you find that gloze?*” The Archbishop, in the Play, accuses the French of this *unjust gloze*. Now, the Englishman’s point (in the apophthegm cited) is, *that though the Salique law excluded the females from the throne, it did not exclude the male issue of these women from succession.* The Frenchman inquires where this *gloze*, is to be found, and is referred to the record of history. In exactly like manner, we find the Archbishop in the Play, *citing instances of successors to the throne who were issues of females* :—

Canterbury—Besides, their writers say,
King Pepin, which deposed Childeric,
Did, as heir general, being descended
Of Blithild, which was daughter to King Clothair,
Make claim and title to the crown of France.

In the same way Hugh Capet :—

Convey’d himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,
Daughter to Charlemagne—
Also King Lewis the Tenth,
Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,
Could not keep quiet in his conscience,

Wearing the crown of France, till satisfied
That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother,
Was lineal of the Lady Ermengare.

So that, as clear as is the summer's sun,
King Pepin's title, and Hugh Capet's claim,
King Lewis, his satisfaction, all appear
To hold in right and title of the female.

—K. Henry V., Act I. ii.

King Henry the Fifth based his claim to the throne of France, as a male who "*claimed by women.*" Canterbury shows that the Law Salique was a fiction, first as to its French origin, secondly in its working.

In a letter to the Earl of Essex, Bacon writes: "For as for appetite, *the waters of Parnassus*, are not like the waters of the Spa, that give a stomach; but rather they quench appetite and desire" (*Letters*, page 85, Part II. *Resuscitatio*, 1661). This is proof positive Bacon had been following his poetic proclivities, for the expression "*waters of Parnassus*," allow no other interpretation, but as an allusion to the fountain of the Muses, or, in other words, to the *waters of Castalia*, sacred to *Apollo*, the God of Poetry.

Now, directly we open the title (first) page, of the poem of *Venus and Adonis* (the first heir of the poet's invention), what is our astonishment to find the Latin motto, introducing the poem, to declare that the author, "leaves common things to the vulgar, but that his intention is to drink '*the waters of Parnassus*,' at the fount of the Golden *Apollo*, i.e., at *Castalia*." This motto is borrowed from *Ovid*, and consists of two lines only:—

"Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua."

Bacon's allusion and this one are really identical, for the waters of Parnassus are the waters of Castalia, whose fountain or source was situated at the foot or base of Mount Parnassus. The latter, properly, is a mountain in Phocis, sacred to *Apollo* and the *Muses*, hence called the region of poetry. It was situated near Delphi, which had two summits, one of which was sacred to *Apollo* and the *Muses*, the other to *Bacchus*. It was accidentally called Larnassus, from Larnax, an Ark, because Deucalion's ark stranded there after the Deluge. After the oracle of Delphi was built at its foot, it received the name of Parnassus, which Peucerus says, is a corruption of Har Nahas, or *Hill of Divination*. It is not amiss to observe,

that one of the pieces of Bacon's collection, entitled, "*The Wisdom of the Ancients*," is called Deucalion. Polixenes exclaims to Florizel:—

We'll bar thee from succession ;
Not hold thee of our blood, no, not our kin :
Far than Deucalion off.—*Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 439.

W. F. C. WIGSTON.

BACON'S "ESSAY OF ENVY."

I WISH to preface the following remarks on Bacon's "Essay of Envy," by acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. W. F. C. Wigston, who has treated of this subject in his very interesting work, "Francis Bacon, Poet, Prophet, and Philosopher." I have followed the line taken by Mr. Wigston, but have endeavoured to push the parallels something further and to show how closely connected in thought, sentiment, and studies, the writer of the Plays was with the author of the Essays. A passage from the *Advancement of Learning* as expanded in *Troilus and Cressida* will afford some idea of how the "seeds and weak beginnings" to be found in some of Bacon's earlier works grew and developed into glorious flowers of poesy and wisdom in the Plays. "Nothing doth derogate from the dignity of a state more than confusion of degrees."—*Advancement of Learning*, Book II. ii. 10.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. we find a wonderful passage of over fifty lines on the confusion of degrees, beginning at line 83.

"Degree being vizarded,
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask,
The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,
Observe, degree, priority and place. . . .
O when degree is shaken,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
The enterprise is sick . . .
Take but degree away, untine that string,
And hark what discord follows !"

The political wisdom and insight displayed in *Troilus and Cressida* have been a standing puzzle to all writers on Shakespeare. How came he so well versed in State mysteries and policies? This is a difficult question to answer. Take a passage which occurs in Act III., Scene iii.

"The providence that's in a watchful State,
 Knows almost every grain of Plutus' gold,
 Finds bottom in the uncomprehensive deeps ;
 Keeps place with thought, and almost, like the gods
 Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.
 There is a mystery, with whom relation,
 Durst never meddle, in the soul of State ;
 Which hath an operation more divine,
 Than breath or pen can give expressure to"(line 196, &c.).

Turning now to the *Advancement of Learning*, Book II. xxiii. 48, we read :—" So unto princes and states, and specially towards wise senates and councils, the natures and dispositions of the people, their conditions and necessities, their factions and combinations, their animosities and discontents, ought to be, in regard to the variety of their intelligences, the wisdom of their observations, and the height of their station where they keep sentinel, in great part clear and transparent."

Bacon had been brought up among statesmen. At the age of seventeen he formed one of the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, the Ambassador to the French Court, and before he was nineteen had begun the study of European politics, so that by the time the Plays were written the ways and policies of Kings and States were quite familiar to him, how they became so to Shakespeare or whether he studied them while holding horses at the theatre doors, we can find no clue, even in that "player-hide," so ingeniously stuffed out by Mr. Sydney Lee with suppositions, conjectures, and possibilities, and offered to the public with Promethean audacity as a "Life of Shakespeare." Turning now to Bacon's *Essay of Envy*, we read :—

"Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards are envious ; for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's ; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour."—*Essay of Envy*.

Only three deformed persons are found in Shakespeare's Plays : Richard, Duke of Gloster, afterwards Richard III., Caliban "a savage and deformed slave" and Thersites "a deformed and scurrilous Grecian." Of Richard we shall find something to say under "boldness," suffice it at present to note that he is * envious, a man to whom

* Dr. Johnson says, "Shakespeare diligently inculcates that the wicked-

"This earth affords no joy,
But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
As are of better person than myself.—3 *Henry VI.* iii. 2, 165.

Caliban's envy is sufficiently patent, while Thersites, of whom also more anon, is the very impersonation of envy.

Only one eunuch is mentioned by Shakespeare, Mardian in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, whose part is so small that we learn nothing of his character.

Five bastards are introduced into the Plays, Edmund in *Lear*, Faulconbridge in *King John*, Don John in *Much Ado*, and Margarelon and Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida*. Now while Edmund, Don John, and Thersites are perhaps the most envious persons in the Plays, Faulconbridge and Margarelon are entirely free from this vice. On looking for some explanation of this we find that in each of them "these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature." Faulconbridge is the natural son of Richard Coeur de Lion, Margarelon of King Priam. Of the latter we know very little, but he appears to have been of a brave and heroical nature, he is represented as standing,

"Colossus-wise waving his beam,
Upon the pashed corsés of the kings,
Epistrophus and Cedius,"

and striking terror unto the hearts of the Greeks.

Faulconbridge, too, is of heroic metal. "The Bastard bounds light of heart into the wider sphere that opens before him, and advances steadily in seriousness and strength even to a tragic greatness" (Gervinus). The envy of Don John is that of malicious, sour, and discontented nature which delights in doing evil to others from sheer envy of their good fortune, personally careless what the result may be so his own malice is gratified.

"Only to despise them I will endeavour anything." On first hearing of Claudio's intended marriage he determines to thwart it if possible :—

"If I can cross him any way, I bless myself every way."

"Any bar, any cross, any impediment will be medicinal to me : I am sick in displeasure to him ; and whatsoever comes athwart his affection ranges evenly with mine."

ness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that arose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake."

This kind of envy is touched on by Bacon :—

"A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil ; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other ; and whoso is out of hope to attain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune."—*Essay of Envy*.

The case of Edmund is slightly different. In the first scene in *King Lear* he is introduced by his father as an offspring to be ashamed of and apologised for :—

"This knave came somewhat saucily into the world, before he was sent for."

He envies his brother not only his legitimacy, but also his land :—

"Let me, if not by birth, have lands by wit."

But he, too, is working out Bacon's ideas :

"Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others ; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame."—*Essay*.

"Again envy is ever found with the comparing of a man's self."—*Essay*.

Thus we find Edmund, whose envy has been aroused by his father's slighting speech of him, railing against fortune for the accident of his birth, and comparing himself with his brother ; his envy, unlike that of Don John, has a practical object in view besides the gratification of malice, that of obtaining his brother's inheritance :—

"Wherefore should I
Stand in the plague of custom, and permit
The curiosity of nations to deprive me,
For that I am some twelve or fourteen moonshines
Lag of a brother ? Why bastard ? Wherefore base ?
When my dimensions are as well compact,
My mind as generous, and my shape as true,
As honest madam's issue ? Why brand they us
With base ? with baseness ? bastardy ? base, base ?
Who, in the lusty stealth of nature, take

More composition and fierce quality,
 Than doth, within a dull, stale, tired bed,
 Go to the creating a whole tribe of fops,
 Got 'tween asleep and awake? Well, then,
 Legitimate Edgar, I must have your land."

Edmund here curiously re-echoes some remarks of Bacon in his "Historia Vitæ et Mortis":—

"Some are begotten by old men, some by young men, . . . some after sleep, and in the morning hours, . . . some in the fervency of the father's love (as frequently in bastards), some when it has cooled, as in ordinary married life."

Coming to Thersites, who is both deformed and a bastard, we find that he is the very incarnation of envy; indeed, in all literature it would be difficult to find envy so distinctly personified. He is addressed as:—

"Thou core of envy." "Thou damnable box of envy." After invoking "Vengeance on the whole camp," he prays his patron saint, "Devil Envy," to say Amen.

Bacon says, "It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for the which cause it is the proper attribute of the Devil."

It can scarcely be denied that Thersites is the "vilest and most depraved" character in the Plays; indeed, the writer of the Plays seems to have taken pains to show how despicable envy could be made to appear. The Thersites of Homer and of the mediæval romances, from which the character is taken, are comparatively respectable citizens beside the Thersites of *Troilus and Cressida*. "A slave by tenure of his own baseness, made to bray and to be brayed at, to despise and to be despicable" (Coleridge).

The connection between old age and envy is not quite so clearly worked out in the Plays. The observation seems to have been based on a passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* quoted by Bacon in *The Promus* (entry 121): "*Tuque invidiosa vetustas*" [And thou envious old age] (*Met.* xv. 234). We find age coupled with envy in the person of Sycorax:—

"Who with age and envy
 Was grown into a hoop."

—*Tempest* I. ii. 258.

And also in Duke Frederick in *As You Like It*: "Old Frederick" is of a "rough and envious disposition" (I. ii. 224),

a state of mind which appears to have been common to stage fathers since the time of Plautus, so we find Bacon remarking, "And therefore we see that Plautus maketh it a wonder to see an old man beneficent." "*Benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est.*"—*Advancement of Learning*, Book II., xxii., 4.

The word envy had not unfrequently, in Shakespeare's time, a somewhat stronger meaning than we now attach to it, and was used more in the sense of malice. Thus we find Shylock's cruelty attributed to envy :—

Ant. : "No lawful means can carry me
Out of his envy's reach."—Act iv. I.

"No metal can,
No not the hangman's axe, bear half the keenness
Of his sharp envy."—Act ii. I.

Thus we find that Sycorax, Frederick, and Shylock, who are all distinctly said to be old, are as plainly stated to be envious; for, although the cantankerous and generally unpleasant father was no longer a stage necessity as in the days of Terence and Plautus, the connection between old age and "crabbedness" is evidently strong in the poet's mind, and is dwelt on in the twelfth Sonnet in "The Passionate Pilgrim"—a Sonnet which Dr. Furnival "likes to think Shakspere's" :—

"Crabbed age and youth cannot live together.
Youth is full of pleasure, age is full of care;
Youth like summer morn, age like winter weather;
Youth like summer brave, age like winter bare;
Youth is full of sport, age's breath is short;
Youth is nimble, age is lame;
Youth is hot and bold, age is weak and cold;
Youth is wild, and age is tame."

It is odd to find Bacon noting the differences between youth and age in a very similar manner :—

"A young man's skin is even and smooth, an old man's dry and wrinkled, especially about the eyes and forehead; a young man's flesh is soft and tender, an old man's hard; youth hath strength and activity, old age decay and slowness of motion . . . in youth the body is erect, in old age bent into a curve; a young man's limbs are firm, an old man's weak and trembling; in youth the humours are bilious and the blood hot, in old age the humours are phlegmatic and melancholy, and the blood cold."—*History of Life and Death*.

"A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate."—*Essay*.

This idea is developed in the character of Lucio in *Measure for Measure*. Lucio is an impudent and profligate busybody, without any touch of honour or generosity, who takes a delight in maligning the Duke, in his supposed absence, merely for the pleasure of evil speaking :—

Lucio : The greater file of the subject held the Duke to be
wise.

Duke : Wise? why, no question but he was.

Lucio : A very superficial, ignorant, unweighing fellow.

Duke : Either this is envy in you, folly, or mistaking.

—*Measure for Measure* III. ii. 144.

"So there is no cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft ; and that is to remove the lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves ; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like."

This is just the use to which Anthony and Octavius Cæsar put their colleague Lepidus :—

"Octavius, I have seen more days than you,
And though we lay these honours on this man
To ease ourselves of divers slanderous loads,
He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold,
To groan and sweat under the business,
Either led or driven as we point the way,
And, having brought our treasure where we will,
Then take we down his load and turn him off,
Like to the empty ass, to shake his ears
And graze in commons."—*Julius Cæsar* iv. 1, 19.

"Envy is ever found with the comparing of man's self. Near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others ; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame."—*Of Envy*.

Compare with this the envy of Cassius to Cæsar and his comparison of Cæsar with himself :—

"I was born free as Cæsar ; so were you :
 We both have fed^d as well ; and we can both
 Endure the winter's cold as well as he ;
 For once upon a raw and gusty day,
 The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
 Cæsar said to me, ' Darest thou, Cassius, now
 Leap in with me into this angry flood,
 And swim to yonder point ? ' Upon the word,
 Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
 And bade him follow : so, indeed, he did.
 The torrent roar'd ; and we did buffet it
 With lusty sinews, throwing it aside,
 And stemming it, with hearts of controversy :
 But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,
 Cæsar cried, ' Help me, Cassius, or I sink ! '
 I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
 Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
 The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber
 Did I the tired Cæsar : and this man
 Is now become a god ; and Cassius is
 A wretched creature, and must bend his body,
 If Cæsar carelessly but nod on him.
 Ye gods, it doth amaze me,
 A man of such a feeble temper should
 So get the start of the majestic world,
 And bear the palm alone."—*Julius Cæsar* I. ii. 97.

What the exact relationship between Bacon and Shakespeare was we cannot at present say, but I think that any unbiased reader will admit that the parallels adduced in this and many previous articles in *BACONIANA*, are too close to be wholly fortuitous. From their writings we learn that both pursued the same studies, held the same opinions, thought identical thoughts, and indulged in the same exercises, that their ideas on nearly all subjects coincided ; but although they had a common friend in Ben Jonson, they never became acquainted. That two minds of such infinite capacity and such infinite similitude could have existed in London at the same time, and yet moved in totally different orbits, is wholly incredible.

E. S. ALDERSON.

“WOLSEY’S FAREWELL.”

NOTES ON THE PLAY OF “HENRY VIII.”

IN the folio of 1623 was printed for the first time a Play entitled, “*The Famous History of the Life of Henry VIII.*”

Mr. Sidney Lee (in his “Life of Shakspeare”) is quite ready to assume that it was performed in Shakspeare’s life-time. He does so on the authority of Sir Henry Wootton, who mentions the burning down of the Globe Theatre, in June, 1613, when a piece was in process of representation entitled, “*All is True representing some Principal Pieces in the reign of Henry VIII.*”

It is stated that on the books of the Stationers’ Company, under date February 12th, 1604, appears the entry, “Nathaniel Butter. That he get good allowance for the interlude of King Henry VIII. before he begin to print it.”

Dr. Farmer, in a note on the epilogue to the Play printed in the first folio, states that Robert Greene had written somewhat on the same story.

Fleay, in his “Life of Shakspeare,” writes: “Henry VIII. as we hear it is not the Play that was in action at the Globe when that Theatre was burned.”

That the folio Play was wholly or partially new, is material for my purpose in dealing with the internal evidences of its authorship. Stern Shaksperians, like Mr. John Fiske of the *Atlantic Monthly*, are always ready to suggest that similarities between the Plays and the writings of Bacon are merely due to both authors borrowing from common sources, or to each borrowing from the other.

To avoid this retort it is desirable, as far as possible, to direct attention to the similarities between Bacon’s writings subsequent in date to Shakspeare’s death (3rd May, 1616), and those Plays about which nothing was known until they appeared in the folio of 1623.

I am disposed to think that the Play of “*Henry VIII.*” was either like “*The Taming of the Shrew*,” founded upon an earlier Play by an inferior writer, or was an extension and partial reconstruction of the author’s own work.

To take the latter view might throw light upon difficulties which appear to have occurred to Shakesperian critics, who have attributed both the prologue and “Wolsey’s Farewell” to other writers.

The differences may be explained by the latter passages having been added by the author at a much later period of his life.

Certainly one can hardly credit an astute actor-manager, fond of money, with writing a Prologue not calculated to draw crowds to his Theatre, as the following extracts will show :—

"I come no more to make you laugh ; things now
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high and working full of state and woe,
Such noble scenes as draw the eyes to flow,
We now present. Those that can now pity here
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear.

Be sad as we would make ye, think ye see
The very persons of our noble story
As they were living ; think you see them great
And followed with the general throng and sweat
Of thousand friends ; then in a moment see
How soon this mightiness meets misery,
And if you can be merry, then I say
A man may weep upon his wedding day."

I should understand it better were it explained to be the writing of a broken-down, unhappy old man, still clinging to his life's work of teaching mankind, in a palatable form, the lessons of history and human conduct.

In the prologue the author points to the dominating incidents of the Play, and the lessons from the fall of great personages dealt with so masterfully in Wolsey's speech.

In 1621 Bacon was degraded from his position of Lord Chancellor. In 1623 a Play, "*Henry VIII.*," is printed and published for the first time, which contains "Wolsey's Farewell," a passage differing so much from the other portions of the Play as to cause some critics to attribute it to another writer.

Mr. Sidney Lee says: "Wolsey's familiar farewell to Cromwell is the only passage, the authorship of which excites really grave embarrassment. It recalls at every point the style of Fletcher, and nowhere that of Shakspeare. But the Fletcherian style, as it is here displayed, *is invested with a greatness* that is not matched elsewhere in Fletcher's work. That Fletcher should have exhibited such faculty once, and once only, is barely creditable, and we are driven to the alternative conclusion that the *noble valediction* was by Shakspeare." (The italics are mine).

It is indeed a noble valediction. It seems to come direct

from the heart of a man who has himself suffered, of one who wrote with the fulness of experience, rather than to be the mere imagination of a poet, however high his genius. It is noticeable that the author, while following closely (as was frequently the case with the Plays) the story to be found in Holinshed's "Chronicles," had, in writing the valediction, no inspiration from that source to guide him. Had Shakspeare survived Bacon, I could imagine Shaksperian critics telling us at once where their author had obtained his object lesson!

But matters happen to have been the other way. It is, therefore, all the more interesting to find in the hundred lines or so of the valediction some twenty similarities between it and the writings of Bacon (doubtless these are not all). I am perfectly aware that instead of admitting the evidential pertinence of these resemblances, and joining fairly in the search for the real truth of the matter, those who think with Mr. Lee will be ready with the observation: "This is evidently taken from a common source," or "Here Shakspeare borrowed from Bacon." But I think such excuses will hardly carry conviction.

Let me take the similarities in the order of the lines:—

- (1) "And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a ripening, *nips his root*."

"This nips the flower in the bud."—*Argument in Low's Case of Tenures*. Bacon, 1607—1613.

- (2) "I have ventured
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders."

"At the first let him practice with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes."—Bacon, *Essay of Nature in Men*, 1612.

- (3) "Vain pomp and glory of this world I hate ye."

"Yesterday I took my place in Chancery. . . . There was much ado and a great deal of world. But this matter of pomp which is heaven to some men is hell to me, or purgatory at least."—Bacon, *Letter to Buckingham*, May 8th, 1617.

"He had nothing in him of vain glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height."—*History of Henry VII.*, 1621.

- (4) "Oh how wretched
Is that poor man who hangs on princes favours."

"Nolite confidere in principibus." (Put not your trust in princes.)—Bacon, *Promus*.

- (5) "There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have."

"Between the mouth and the morsell."—Bacon, *Promus*.

- (6) "Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell. Why, well :
I know myself now."

"My affliction hath made me understand myself better and not worse."—Bacon, *Letter to the Lord Keeper*, October 18th, 1621 (after his fall).

- (7) "And I feel within me
A peace above all earthly dignities,
A still and quiet conscience."

"And besides I am persuaded (which is above *all earthly glory*) you shall do God good service in it."—Bacon, *Letter to Villiers*, June 13th, 1616. (See "The view of earthly glory," *Henry VIII.* i. 1.)

- (8) "A still and quiet conscience."

"Nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die than the quieted conscience."—Bacon, *Essay on Death*, 1617—1621.

- (9) "I humbly thank His Grace."

"I humbly thank Your Grace that you make me live in His Highnesses remembrance."—Bacon to *Buckingham*, about June, 1623.

- (10) "These ruined pillars."

"The four pillars of Government."—Bacon, *Essay on Seditions*, written in MS., 1607—1613; first published in English, 1625.

- (11) "A load would sink a navy, too much honor.
O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden."

"Non honor est sed onus."—*Ovid*. (Not an honor but a burden.)—Bacon, *Promus*.

- (12) "May he continue
"Long in His Highness's favour."

"I cannot too oft acknowledge Your Highness's favour in my troubles."—Bacon, *Letter to the Prince*, 1621.

- (13) "No sun shall ever usher forth mine honours,
I am a poor fallen man."

"The honours which Your Majesty hath done me . . . and the misery I am fallen into."—Bacon, *Letter to King James*, September 5th, 1621.

(14) "I know his noble nature."

"That in building upon your Lordship's noble nature."—Bacon, *Letter to Buckingham*, March 20th, 1621.

(15) "Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition,
By that sin fell the angels."

"The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall."
—Bacon, *Essay of Goodness*, 1612.

(16) "How can man then the image of his Maker,
Hope to win by it."

"Neither do they speak of any other image of God but man."—Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* (Divine Philosophy), 1605.

(17) "Let all the ends thou aim'st at *be thy country's*" (&c.).

"I will look to bow things to the *true ends*."—Bacon, *Letter to Buckingham*, July 28th, 1618.

(18) "My robe,
And my *integrity* to heaven is all,
I dare now call *my own*."

"For though they be not *mine own* yet they are surer than mine own because they are God's *gifts* that is *integrity* and industry."—Bacon, *Letter to King James*.

(19) "Corruption wins not more than honesty."

"After this example it is like that judges will fly from any thing that is in the likeness of corruption."—Bacon, *Submission to the House of Lords*, April 24th, 1621.

(20) "Had I but served my God with half the zeal,
I served my king, he would not in mine age,
Have left me naked to mine enemies."

"Cardinal Wolsey said that if he had pleased God as he pleased the king he had not been ruined."—*Draft of Bacon's Letter to King James*, September 5th, 1621.

"Quoth the Cardinal . . . but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king he would not have given me over in my greie hairs" (Holinshed).

I make no pretence whatever to be a literary critic. My

only desire is to ascertain the truth of the most interesting literary controversy I have known.

With this object let us seriously sum up the evidence above set forth.

Of the twenty illustrations given it is apparent that Shakspeare was unable to borrow from Bacon the similarities contained in twelve, because the letters, &c., containing them were written *after* Shakspeare's death. Apart from this, the letters could by no reasonable possibility have been open to Shakspeare's inspection.

As to the others, it is difficult to assume that Shakspeare was the borrower. For to use numbers 15 and 16 he would have had to write the Play after 1612 which, while it fits in with the Globe performance, does not agree with either the theory of its date (1611) given by Mr. Sydney Lee, nor the facts of Shakspeare's retirement.

Those of the instances, numbers 4, 5, 11 and 20, which are open to the theory of two authors dipping into the same common source would involve one in the curious and most improbable conclusion that two different men were contemporaneously diligent students of and borrowers from the Psalms, Erasmus, Ovid and Holinshed!

"Then Bacon borrowed from the Play," would be the Shaksperian retort. Nothing would support this contention short of the assumption that the Play was printed before 1623 (for which there is not an atom of evidence) or that Bacon possessed the manuscript (of this there is also no proof) or that he heard the Play and committed the valediction to memory! An equally groundless supposition.

The only reasonable conclusion to be derived from these similarities of thought or expression, is, that Bacon was the writer of Wolsey's speech and thus put into poetic form his own intense feelings and sufferings.

It would follow either that the Play in progress on the 29th June, 1613, when the Globe Theatre was burnt, was not the Play printed in the folio of 1623 or that it was refashioned, extended, and the Wolsey valediction added subsequent to Bacon's own fall in 1621.

At the time of its publication we are aware that Bacon was again actively engaged in literary labour and in passing through the press his acknowledged works.

"Though in a despised weed I have sought the good of all men."—Bacon's Prayer.

P. W.

TO THE MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BACON SOCIETY.

(September, 1899).

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I desire to make known to all who are interested in Baconian researches that I have mastered the method of deciphering works printed in the cipher specially described in the *De Augmentis*, and which is dependent upon the arrangement of two forms of italic type. This cipher the great inventor and author calls the “Bilateral,” to distinguish it from five other kinds which he enumerates, and which, in the deciphered work produced from his books by Mrs. Gallup, are said all to have been used by him. You are probably all aware that for some years past Dr. Orville Owen has worked at what he calls the “Word Cipher,” by means of which he has extracted from many books a quantity of matter so varied, and often so astounding as to appear at first sight incredible. The personal history of “Francis Bacon” himself, complete historical plays, and letters are strangely mixed up with translations in prose and verse of Homer and Virgil, and with incidental allusions to the men and “names” under whose “masks” or by whose means his vast and universal literature was produced.

Through periods of discouragement and disappointment this work of deciphering has been patiently and persistently carried on, although I believe that publication was for a time discontinued: not, however, until four or five small volumes and two large 8vo. volumes of the results had been published. Some two years ago, when Dr. Owen was absent from work, and when his former type-writer—now expert cryptographer—was filling his place, this lady came upon a passage which so distinctly described or pointed out the value of the “Bilateral Cipher” that she desisted from the other work in order to experiment upon this method. The result has been the production of a volume *deciphered solely according to the instructions given by Francis himself*.

I was honoured by being furnished with copies of portions of this work in all stages, from fragmentary MS. until the fragments were connected and formed into a considerable printed book. It is not for me to forestall the coming publication: I need only say that the historical particulars concerning Francis himself, first recorded in the “Word

Cipher," are repeated over and over again in the "Bilateral" deciphered by Mrs. Gallup. As to documentary proofs, I furnished to BACONIANA a long list of references to State Papers, the Hatfield MSS., and other collections in which I found proofs, plain and ample, of the truth of the story about Queen Elizabeth in the Word Cipher. With regard to these later histories concerning matters which the Queen wished to keep secret, it cannot be expected that they should be recorded in State Papers of the time. Still, we may hope to find that in private collections of MSS., such as the Cotton, the Pembroke, and the Verulam, the desired corroborative evidence may be found.

In respect of my own slight work upon the Biliteral Cipher, its value consists only in the fact that it confirms the statements of Dr. Owen and Mrs. Gallup. Ten years ago I attempted to extract the cipher from the Dedicatory Letter, signed "Hemminge and Condell," in the 1623 folio of "Shakespeare," being persuaded that the mixed type of that singular volume was not the result of chance or carelessness. I fancied that I was on the way to success, but as nearly every one to whom I pointed out the varieties of type disregarded their significance, as some even said that they could not perceive them, and threw cold water upon my observations, I desisted, being at the time much occupied with other things, and fearing to waste time in a vain pursuit. Still, however, I retained a firm conviction that "Our Francis" was not the man to waste *his* time, thought, and ingenuity in inventing, and in his chief scientific work, describing cipher systems *never to be used*. If, however, he did use ciphers "to conceal as well as to reveal," where are these to be looked for? Does no one know of their existence? Is it possible that such work by such a man for such purposes can have been lost? Ciphers are made that some one may be able to read them. Would these Baconian ciphers, of all others, have been inserted into innumerable books, with enormous expenditure of time and money, unless matters dark and dangerous, and elsewhere suppressed, were to be imparted to a large and widely-scattered secret society initiated in the art of reading them? Would such initiates allow the art of reading the ciphers, or the matter deciphered, to become lost in the dust of oblivion? Would they not rather take every possible means to ensure that these precious records should be preserved and handed down to future ages, as their inventor and writer undoubtedly intended?

Such questions as these must arise in any thoughtful mind; they must be answered, and I look to a solution of many puzzles and inexplicable hindrances by means of the recent cipher discoveries. Having returned to the charge, and, by dint of repeated trials, deciphered the Dedicatory Letter to the Shakespeare Folio, and *another piece in the same volume*, and, finding that my results agreed perfectly with those of Mrs. Gallup, I next tried the First Edition (1605) of *The Advancement of Learning*. With each attempt the work became easier, and having worked out sufficient to assure myself that that book also is full of cipher, I turned to a tiny volume which I have always reckoned "Baconian" "*Wither's Epithalamia*" (1620). Short pieces of the deciphering from both of these very dissimilar works will be found below; but until the American book is actually published, it seems unfair to enter into particulars or in any way to take the wind out of the sails of those who first and so bravely put forth on these troublesome seas. The apparition of words coming out, letter by letter, in single file, and forming themselves into battalions—compact and connected sentences, and often of the most unexpected kind—is intensely interesting and exciting; but we must not lose sight of the main point, the burning question: *Are these things true or untrue?* There is no other alternative. If true, what a world of wonders, what a reversal of authoritative statements and unsupported traditions must inevitably follow the deciphering of the Biliteral Cipher! We cannot be surprised that the literary world and the general reader shrink from entertaining such ideas, or from facing and examining into the matter—far easier to let things slide.

On the other hand, should the cipher readings be proved untrue? Such a result appears almost inconceivable. The idea would involve the tremendous assumption that two persons could, independently of each other, independent also of any mutual hints or instructions, work out precisely the same results from the same printed matter, although (according to this theory) the matter produced were false, and, the cipher by which it was supposed to be produced, non-existent. Further, were the statements made by Dr. Owen and his colleagues untrue, we must find some cause to account for their assiduous perseverance and devoted labours during a whole decade upon a subject as unpopular as it is unremunerative. I confess that my powers of credulity cannot stretch so far as would be required to grasp the "deception" or "delusion" theories.

But private beliefs and personal opinions are alike valueless in such a case; persistent trial and experiment can alone avail to reach the truth; and since we fail in obtaining authoritative help either in confirming or in refuting the statements made, I can only appeal to private individuals interested like myself, and who may be willing to aid in this slow but sure process of deciphering. Once mastered, the work is by no means difficult, and I shall be happy to afford all the help in my power to any one who will seriously devote time and attention to this revived art of deciphering.

I am, ladies and gentlemen, yours faithfully,

CONSTANCE M. POTT.

A VOICE FROM THE DEAD.

Deciphering of "George Withers' *Epithalamia*" (pub. John Beale and Thomas Walkley. 1620).

Descriptive Title-page and Dedication :—*

"A key to the ciphering work in letters, shewing my part in the fame of inventions.—F. B."

To the Christian readers :—

"Time trieth truth is a bad adage, a veil to hide a truth in an untrue storie, as well as to shew the debt we owe to historians."†

Epithalamion (I) :—

"Find the key in the Table of Contents, to keepe in minde this cipher, to turn a leaf of use to a fair account of many keys to remind you of the many special difficult things to guide you in concealed cypher-keys, all a part of my designes,

* Here the page is termed a "key," in the first Poem it is called a "Table of Contents." The whole of the alphabet is included in the Title-page and Dedication excepting x, which, when met with in the Poems, is found to be a "null."

† In this short piece the drift of the Author in his cipher-work is suggested by the words, printed in conspicuous Roman type, "Satyricall," "Cynicall," "Vaine," Villanie, Times, &c.

all invented in order to find precise particularities for fair deciphering work.

"Curiously attend all the dreadful account of the execution of the great Earl of Essex, the last hateful tragedy, which tragedy keep ever in minde ; the true tales, traditions, ni(gh) forgotten by this cruel land, a world too gross ; hirelings, menial usurers, devouring our substance, liars ; yes, everie merciles deede, lie, cruelty, strife to part friends, to ruin others ; expecting treason, treachery, everywhere."

Epithalamion (2) :—

"We kept the world in riotous mirth. My poetry, bryd songs, plaies, or a witty satyricall ; epigrams, lyricks ; a key to my word cipher—task cruell to you, it appears.

"You, I see, believe much use in my artifice. Try any of my eternal poetry, songs, satyres, plaies, ballads, dumb-shows, comedies."

* *Epigrams* :—

"A part of an easy-to you guide to my new inventions. Latterly part of my works were translated, past beyond the seas. I give each of my works as part of Love's Labours Lost.

"All my age at this time is one and twenty years ; yet every one of my friendes tell all, a part of the secrets in my wonderfulll (*sic*) historie, concealed from Profani, busy in misguiding.

"My youthful helps (are) good fellow-officers, most ill-rewarded from a raging, aged world." †

* There are seven of these Epigrams, but the cipher-work runs through them regardless of breaks. Sometimes a word is halved between two Epigrams.

† Note "Bacon's" oft-repeated doctrine that the Present is the true antiquity of the world.

The following pieces are from a Rosicrucian Tract (in Latin and German) published in 1619. It will be seen that they dispose of any doubts as to whether or no "Francis" was connected with the "Venerable and glorious Society of the Rose Cross" to whom it is dedicated. The abrupt and incomplete ending of the cipher messages persuade us they are continued elsewhere:—

"PEGASUS FIRMAMENTI."

"A Josepho Stellato, Secretioris Philosophiæ Alumno," &c.

Title page, two Italic letters in the Epigram, and the Dedication "to the gracious and generous fraternity of the Rose Cross":—

"No fear, pride of intellect in this worke, or love to my person's rank, youth, or my honour, can insure a place in Love's fair palaces of the new philosophy, made for a rare happinesse, gardens planted as a rival to the Garden of Eden, if we duly act.

"I ask rare wits to wait for a new reformation, a palace not made with hammer, saw, or hard worke, admirable to purify these filthie times, when we, wearied out both in body and mind lack any guides to learne truth, efficient cure for sorrow everywhere."

"ROSE CROSS Fra."

Detached fragments from the tract itself:—

"Steal houres to give to serious tasks, easy to you. Franc."

"Time a sure trier of the minde of man scarce divine, minds full of mockery, brokers of my workes—another pr. . . ." (*proof?*)

From the marginal notes:—

"F. Bacon, Prince of Wales" . . . * If I

* Here the printing is so much defaced and effaced that a fair reading is impossible; the words "says" seem the probable reading.

faile in magneticall experiments, I looke to a future time in a earnest hope that good wits. . . .”

(Here the marginal readings break off.)

Headings of Chapters I to VII, the letters taken consecutively.

‘FRANCIS BACON ALBA.’”

The following fragmentary extracts are a few of many attempts which I have made to discover at what date the use of this biliteral cipher was discontinued. There are many who must know all the circumstances connected with this secret—a secret no longer. May we not hope that Truth will at last be allowed to claim her own. Time has surely sufficiently tried her.

As a suggestion to mathematicians I must add that I have suspicions that yet another cipher—a mathematical device of extreme subtlety may be wrapped up in these curious cryptograms. If so, they will probably prove to be connected with Mr. Donnelly's original and pioneer observations, many of which have been tested and found true by expert mathematicians :—

“LA PHILOSOPHIE DE DESCARTES,” 1681 (4th edition).

Title-page and Dedication.

“The brave wish of the genius Prince Francis St. Alban made him will that a true affection for the authour or any of his delightful subjects, should cause to do his worke; yes, aid in the advance of Truth, but worke to recever for a dead world account of ceremonies secretly perform'd at the chapel, in that den of iniquitie, bloodie Towre, and again at a friendly Bishop's chapel in Arundel Castle in Sussex, at a ballet revel, trial at armes, runninge at a tilt, fencing in a maske, elegantly, and exceedingly fair and rich was a beauteous Prince—April, in decline of Spring out-rivalling Pallas until she dreading the grandeur while the gods (were) laughing revelling, devised that night a work well come. We expect prais for the least real efforts. In great distress cry, expecting help, or account the worke for my future reward. This await patiently, in a full assurance that ‘Time trieth Truth’ is true at all, and bravelie work in gay hope of the event, to gain crownes of glory, easie, sure, in working against the great of a degenerate age. . . .”

"MERCURY, OR THE SECRET AND SWIFT MESSENGER" (*anon*), 1641.

From the Title-page and Dedication.

"I thinke it my good fortune that my constant very earnest orisons to Almighty God in His goodness may have (en)lightened everie one."

"FRANCIS."

To the Reader.

"This was written by Francis St. Albane the true Prince of Wales, the lineal descendant of Elizabeth our Island Queen. The reign of ostentation, ignorance, rash liars, pigmies all; violent, thieving, or claiming that rare, original dramatical works, excellent witty plays, mockeries to delight, attract laggards. . . ."

"CLAVIS PANNAUTICI," OR MARINER'S GUIDE. By T. W. Printed 1734.

*Beginning on the Title-page, the cipher continues through the book.**

"A description of sundry means, all easy, in writing secret things to the completion of the ciphers invented by a man and a Prince of Wales who was the son of Queen Elizabeth, and heir to the throne of the Plantagenet by Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, and truly married in the Tower of London, also at Arundel Castle in the presence of several eminent persons, yearning for a correct account of that ceremony of a concealed wedding, greatest event this world has seen for past centuries.

"Part of certain royal and princely devices were prepared, with a rare triumph, masks, till it tolled out the hour of two of an Easter morning. Earl Dudley, Elizabeth's partner, that night conceived me in full of that moon, a humble witness above, a fair prophesy of my true right to be called Prince of Wales, it my own . . ."

"THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS," London, 1760.

Title-page, Preface, and Apology.

"This allegory was written by Francis St. Alban, and edited by Henry Gibbon, his secretary, loving, and a long time deare partner in a secret Society to write, pay for keene spirits that they may secretly cypher . . ."

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

I AM rejoiced to see at last in a list of "Subjects for Research," that you notice some books which cannot fail to throw light upon our studies, especially "Leicester's Ghost" and "Leicester's Commonwealth." On reading these books some years ago, I was struck by their resemblance to some of Bacon's earlier works; but the reading of his "Holy War" should precede that of the "Commonwealth." It will be observed the "Ghost" appeared soon after the death of Elizabeth, and was suppressed by King James; but it reappeared bound up with the Commonwealth in 1641. In this same year were published the "History of Henry VII." and "Ben Jonson's Discoveries." The close study of all these works will be found

** In my copy the last leaf of the Rules and examples is torn out, and the completion consequently for a time arrested.*

very useful. Shakespeare readers will surely notice certain resemblances between the character of Leicester as described in the Commonwealth, and the description of Richard III. who appears in many respects to be his prototype by his arts of dissimulation, his many crimes—poisonings, murders, cruelty, lust. Other characters in Shakespeare reflect his many-sided character, as in *Lear*, where Edmund, fascinating, crafty, treacherous aims like Leicester to secure the crown by marriage. We seem to see reflections of his luxury, his vanity, and his boundless ambition in many parts of the Plays—the deplorable state to which his army was reduced in the Netherlands, seems to be told in *Hen. V.* and in *Coriolanus*, where, in describing the sedition caused by poverty and want, the fable of the mutinous members is told by the belly much as the same parable is told in the "Ghost," which was first printed in 1603. Space does not admit of a true analysis but I may mention that the account given in the "Commonwealth" of the murder of Amy Robsart seems to be repeated in *Othello*, v., 2 and other places. We also find in the Tragedies the talk of the people and the priest on the subject of the murder, lines from the letters of Amy Robsart when she was sent away by Queen Elizabeth and Leicester, the speech of Leicester himself when he found that "Lady Leicester" had given him the potion which he intended for her. Part of this speech is in *King John*, the rest in *Hamlet*.

The plays assume an entirely new meaning in the light of this newly published literature of the Netherlands, and by the light thrown by the "Commonwealth" and the "Ghost," which include the description of the Low Countries up to the time of Leicester's death. Many quotations are to be found from these tracts, hidden here and there in the Plays, sometimes a line with no direct bearing on the matter but having a significance of their own. "Using the names of men instead of men," i.e., using the name of *Shakespeare* instead of the name of the true author. In 1 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4 where Falstaff examines Prince Hal, you may recall Leicester's description given by Strada and Grotius. There is much more to be said, but real lovers of truth should see for themselves. The truth is coming with great and rapid strides. Thank heaven that it is so near, and that our hearts do not weary.

Yours, &c.,

EL DE LOUIE.

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

GENTLEMEN,—I read in page 219 of Edwin Reed's "*Bacon versus Shakspeare*:" "Every effort to find the slightest hint of foreign travel in the life of Shakspeare, though made with great persistence, has thus far signally failed."

I read in "Shakspeare and His Predecessors" (by F. S. Boas): "Shakspeare is not likely to have visited Italy at so early a date."

Here Boas coolly assumes that Shakspeare travelled about, and visited Italy; this assumption is on a par with all other Shakspearean assumptions, which are as numerous as they have been necessary for Shakspearean authorship. But it seems to me, that if Shakspeare, as a matter of fact, did not travel in Italy, so as to become personally acquainted with Venice, Boas has given up the case as regards the Shakspearean authorship, for he says in page 111, "That even if we grant that imaginative genius alone enabled

him to throw around the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet* so marvellously vivid an Italian atmosphere, no *power of intuition*, however transcendent, could impart to the poet a knowledge of *positive facts*." Surely, unless there is positive *proof* that Shakspeare *might* have had a knowledge of these positive facts (and such *proof* certainly does not exist), he, Boas, has gone far to admit Baconian authorship; for we know that Bacon, either personally or through his brother, actually *had*, or might have had, that knowledge of positive fact, which was essential to true authorship, and which, so far as Shakspeare is concerned, rests entirely on assumption. In other words, Boas himself admits that unless the author of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet* was personally acquainted with Venice, he could not have written those two plays. In this stage of *the contest*, therefore, between Bacon and Shakespeare, on which side does victory lie? With Bacon, as long as facts have greater weight than assumptions.

Yours truly,

F. RICE HENN.

8th August, 1899.